

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LOME 07617 01 OF 02 171423Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LOME 7617

E.O. 11652 : ODS

TAGS: MSS, XX

SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS
FOR FY-79: TOGO

REF: STATE 133136

A. INTERESTS

1. U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES SERVED BY SECURITY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP:

U.S. INTERESTS IN TOGO DERIVE FROM A BROADER BASIC U.S.
INTEREST IN SEEKING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF STATES. TOGO CONDUCTS AN ENERGETIC AND
AMBITIOUS FOREIGN POLICY WHICH RESULTS IN A HIGH LEVEL OF
INTERACTION WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND IT CONTRIBUTES
ACTIVELY TO THE FORMULATION OF CONSENSUS ON REGIONAL AND
CONTINENTAL ISSUES. TOGO'S INFLUENCE IS MORE A FUNCTION OF ITS
ACTIVE DIPLOMACY THAN OF ITS SIZE OR RESOURCES. IN CONSIDERABLE
MEASURE, TOGO'S INFLUENCE DERIVES FROM THE ROLE THAT PRESIDENT
EYADEMA HAS BEEN ABLE TO ASSERT WITHIN THE REGIONAL AND
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PAGE 02 LOME 07617 01 OF 02 171423Z

LARGER AFRICAN CONTEXT. REGIONALLY, WORKING WITH THE NIGERIAN
LEADERSHIP, EYADEMA HAS SUCCESSFULLY PRESSED FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF ECOWAS, THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION
WHICH TRANSCENDS LINGUISTIC BARRIERS. AT THE SAME TIME HE
CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE IN THE ENTENTE AND COOPERATES INFORMALLY
WITH NIGER, UPPER VOLTA AND MALI TO STRENGTHEN REGIONAL
INFRASTRUCTURE. REFLECTING HIS DEEP CONCERN OVER INCREASING

SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE REGION, HE IS SEEKING TO IMPROVE COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD WITH LIKE-MINDED STATES SUCH AS IVORY COAST, SENEGAL, NIGER AND UPPER VOLTA IN COOPERATION WITH FRANCE.

THE U.S. ADDITIONALLY HAS INTERESTS WHICH DERIVE FROM TOGO'S EXISTENCE AS A SOVEREIGN NATION AND HOW IT EXERCISES ITS SOVEREIGNTY WITH RESPECT TO:

- HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION;
- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME;
- THE CONDUCT OF COMMERCIAL, CULTURAL, AND INTELLECTUAL INTERCHANGE WITH THE WEST, AND SPECIFICALLY WITH THE U.S.

B. OBJECTIVES

1. THE PRIMARY U.S.OBJECTIVE IN TOGO IS TO SEE THAT TOGOLESE INFLUENCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE EXERCISED IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY.

2. TOGO SHOULD CONTINUE ITS ORIENTATION TOWARD THE WEST AND MODERATE STATES.

3. TOGO SHOULD PROGRESSIVELY DIMINISH ITS RELATIONS WITH RADICAL STATES.

4. U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE TOGOLESE LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING KEY YOUNGER ELEMENTS OF THE MILITARY, SHOULD BE PROGRESSIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LOME 07617 01 OF 02 171423Z

IMPROVED.

II. THREAT ANALYSIS

THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE PROCESS OF CREATING ZONES OF INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. THIS PERCEPTION CAME INTO SHARP FOCUS DURING THE ANGOLA CRISIS OF 1975 AND WAS EXACERBATED BY THE SHABA RRISIS OF 1977. MEANWHILE, THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT VIEWS SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHSRN AFRICA WITH GREAT CONCERN BECAUSE OF FEAR THAT RESORT TO ARMED STRUGGLE THERE WILL GIVE THE SOVIETHUNION AND CUBA INCREASING INFLUENCE WITH LIBERATION GROUPS AND EVENTUALLY A STRONG FOOTING IN THAT PART OF THE CONTINENT. TOGO CONCEIVES THAT IT IS ALREADY UNDER SIEGE INASMUCH AS BENIN, ITS NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR, IS A PROFESSED MARXIST STATE ALLEGEDLY PRACTICING SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. TOGO LOOKS NORTH TO MALI WITH CONCERN ALSO BECAUSE IT CONCEIVES THAT SOVIET ACTIVITY THERE IN PROVIDING ARMS IS CREATING A ZONE OF INFLUENCE. NECESSARILY, SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA GIVE EMPHASIS TO THIS VIEW OF THE WORLD.

IN ADDITION TO THE THREAT IT PERCEIVES FROM COMMUNIST ACTIVITY, THE GOVERNMENT OF TOGO ALSO HAS AN ENDURING PERCEPTION OF THREAT FROM GHANA. THIS RESULTS FROM THE DIVISION OF THE FORMER U.N. TRUSTEESHIP OF TOGO INTO BRITISH AND FRENCH RESPONSIBILITIES. EVENTUALLY, THE BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP AREA WAS INCORPORATED INTO GHANA AND A MARKED SENSE OF IRREDENTISM CONTINUES AMONG TOGOLESE SOUTHERNERS WHO ARE ETHNICALLY SIMILAR TO THOSE LIVING ON THE EAST BANK OF THE VOLTA RIVER IN THE AREA OF BRITISH TOGOLAND.

THE TOGOLESE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH THIS THREAT PERCEPTION ARE A COMPLEX MIX INVOLVING A PHILOSOPHY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH LIKE-MINDED STATES THROUGH SUCH MECHANISMS AS ECOWAS, THE ENTENTE, THE BOAD, CIMAO AND SIMILAR ECONOMICALLY ORIENTED ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER, THE FUNDAMENTAL TOGOLESE RESPONSE HAS BEEN TO BUILD

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PAGE 04 LOME 07617 01 OF 02 171423Z

A RELATIVELY FORMIDABLE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT FOR A NATION OF ITS SIZE. ITS 4,000-MAN LIGHT INFANTRY FORCE IS WELL-EQUIPPED AND WELL TRAINED. SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS ARE LACKING BUT TOGO IS IN THE PROCESS OF ACQUIRING FRENCH ALPHA GROUND SUPPORT JET AIRCRAFT. THE EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT OF THE TOGOLESE THREAT ANALYSIS IS THAT THE ANALYSIS IS REASONABLY WELL BALANCED, THOUGH IT MAY GIVE THE SOVIETS MORE CREDIT FOR DIABOLICAL CUNNING THAN IS WARRANTED. IT SEEMS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE ESSENTIAL TOGOLESE RESPONSE TO A SPREADING SOVIET THREAT WILL NOT BE MILITARY. WHILE TOGOLESE ARMED FORCES ARE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH BORDER INCURSIONS, INTERNAL SUBVERSION, AND THE LIKE, TOGOLESE DIPLOMACY WOULD BE THE PRIMARY LINE OF DEFENSE; THUS, IF TOGO PERCEIVED THAT SOVIET INFLUENCES WERE GROWING IN A MANNER THAT WAS NOT BEING ADEQUATELY MET BY THE OCCIDENT, THE GOT WOULD TRIM ITS SAILS AND FIND A MEANS OF ACCOMMODATING WITH THE GROWTH OF RADICAL MARXISM. IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW, THE CONTINUED MAINTENANCE OF TOGOLESE RELATIONS WITH SUCH RADICAL STATES AS NORTH KOREA AND ITS TIES WITH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS LIBYA REPRESENT AN ANCHOR TO WINDWARD. IF THE TOGOLESE BELIEVE THEIR NATIONAL INTEREST AND MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY REQUIRE ALIGNMENT WITH RADICAL MARXSIM, THE TOGOLESE WILL DO SO. THIS ANALYSIS NECESSARILY IS DEPENDENT ON THE CAPABILITIES OF FORCES INIMICAL TO TOGO IN THE AREA, IT DOES NOT REFLECT THE INTENTIONS OF SUCH FORCES.

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PAGE 01 LOME 01617 02 OF 02 171355Z
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INFO SECDEF WASHDC
USDAO ABIDJAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LOME 1617

III. TOGOLESE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

TOGOLESE ARMED FORCES ARE ORGANIZED INTO A 4,000-MAN LIGHT INFANTRY FORCE. THERE IS A LIGHT ARMOR COMPONENT COMPOSED OF UNIMOG ARMORED CARS AND PERSONNEL CARRIERS. TOGOLESE ARMED FORCES HAVE A LIMITED AIR TRANSPORT CAPABILITY COMPOSED OF TWO DEHAVILLAND BUFFALO AIRCRAFT. A PARACOMMANDO FORCE HAS BEEN ORGANIZED. A GROUND SUPPORT TACTICAL AIR CAPABILITY IS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING ORGANIZED. A COASTAL DEFENSE FORCE COMPOSED OF TWO CRAFT EXISTS. THESE UNITS ARE SUPPORTED FROM INDIGENOUS RESOURCES AND ARE EQUIPPED LARGELY WITH FRENCH MATERIAL.

IV. SPECIFIC DEFENSE ARTICLES DESIRED BY TOGO

THE TOGOLESE HAVE MADE AN UNSPECIFIED REQUEST FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES. IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT TOGO IS INELIGIBLE FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE, NO EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO IDENTIFY SPECIFIC ITEMS WHICH COULD BE OBTAINED FROM THE UNITED STATES. A LIMITED TRAINING PROGRAM IS PROPOSED FOR MAINLY POLITICAL REASONS (I.E., TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH THE KEY MILITARY LEADERSHIP GROUP.)
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PAGE 02 LOME 01617 02 OF 02 171355Z

V. ECONOMIC IMPACT

BRIEFLY, TOGOLESE DEBT SERVICING CAPABILITY IS PRESENTLY COMMITTED TO EXISTING PURCHASES AND LOANS. THE

ASSESSMENT REQUESTED IN STATE 122570 AIDAC IS BEING PREPARED.
AN AIRGRAM ON DEBT-SERVICING CAPABILITY WILL BE DESPATCHED
SHORTLY.

VI. USG OR CIVILIAN CONTRACT PERSONNEL NEEDED.
NO USG OR CIVILIAN CONTRACT PERSONNEL WILL BE REQUIRED IN
COUNTRY UNTIL FMS SALES OR TRANSFERS ARE MADE.

VII. THIRD COUNTRY AVAILABILITY.
PRESENTLY TOGO IS OBTAINING ALL OF ITS MILITARY REQUIREMENTS
FROM THIRD COUNTRIES. ONLY A MODEST U.S. IMET PROGRAM IS
PROPOSED FOR TOGO.

VIII. ARMS CONTROL IMPACT.
THERE WOULD BE NO ARMS CONTROL IMPACT UNDER THE TRAINING PROGRAM
PROPOSED.

IX. HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS
SINCE SUBMISSION OF LOME 252, THERE HAVE BEEN POSITIVE HUMAN
RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FORM OF RELEASE OF POLITICAL
PRISONERS. APPROVAL OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE REQUESTS COULD HAVE
POSITIVE IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTISES OF THE TOGOLESE
GOVERNMENT.

X. POSSIBILITY OF TOGOLESE RESTRAINT IN THE PURCHASE OF ARMS.
AS LONG AS THE TOGOLESE PERCEIVE THE THREAT DESCRIBED ABOVE,
TOGO WILL CONTINUE TO BE A PURCHASER OF ARMS.

XI. GRANT TRAINING.
TOGO WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TOWARD THE CONCEPT OF PROFESSIONAL
TRAINING. SHOULD TOGO AT SOME POINT BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR FMS
PURCHASES, EQUIPMENT-RELATED TRAINING WOULD BECOME FEASIBLE
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PAGE 03 LOME 01617 02 OF 02 171355Z

AT THAT TIME. IF TOGO AT SOME POINT PURCHASES FMS EQUIPMENT,
IT IS PROBABLE THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE INTERESTED IN
PAYING FOR EQUIPMENT-RELATED TRAINING.

XII. CONCLUSION
TOGO IS PART OF THE FRENCH ORBIT AND ITS MILITARY NEEDS ARE
BEING PROVIDED FOR BY PURCHASES OF FRENCH EQUIPMENT. AS NOTED,
HOWEVER, TOGOLESE DIPLOMACY IS THE NATION'S FIRST LINE OF
DEFENSE AND CONTINUED GROWTH OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA
WOULD PROBABLY CAUSE THE TOGOLESE TO ADJUST THEIR POLICIES
TO DEAL WITH THIS REALITY. IN SUCH CONDITIONS, THE TOGOLESE
WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND BE
PREPARED TO MOVE OUT OF THE OCCIDENTAL ORBIT, AS
NECESSARY. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES A MODEST, ESSENTIALLY
SYMBOLIC, TRAINING PROGRAM CAN PROVIDE A USEFUL SIGNAL
OF THE U.S. STRATEGIC STAKE IN DENYING AFRICA TO THE

SOVIETS AND SUCH A PROGRAM IS RECOMMENDED.

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